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Tupoutoa (Tukuaho's son) was in Haapai when the news came that Tukuaho was killed by Tupouniua and Ulukalala.

Finau, who was beside Tukuaho upon his assassination, was his daughter by Fangafua, his cousin. [Fangafua is not given in the lists as a wife of Tukuaho.] The child lived. When news came that Tukuaho was dead, Fangafua was carried to Pangai, then to Mua, where lay Tukuaho's body. Ata Tofuaipangai, Fangafua's father, instructed that she be strangled so that she might die together with her lord, to which Fangafua agreed. The chiefs said that she was to be buried by the side of her husband, but Ata protested, "No, she is to be taken to Hihifo." So they started to strangle Fangafua, Ulakai standing on the left side, Uhilamoelangi on the right. But Uhilamoelangi could not pull the rope, for he loved his mother. [Apparently Fangafua was not Uhilamoelangi's natural mother. The Tamaha genealogies make him the son of Halaevalukovi, Tukuaho's sister.] Fangafua thereupon took his side of the rope and helped him to pull it. Then she died. Ata ordered her body to be taken to Hihifo, where all the chiefs went. Then Ata said that after Fangafua was buried they would make war. They arrived in Hihifo and sat up for one night with Fangafua's corpse. When morning came she was buried. Meanwhile, Halaevalukovi (full sister of the slain Tukuaho) stayed by the beach in Hihifo in a little Tongan house mourning for Tukuaho. She stayed there for about a month while Hihifo was getting ready for war.

One morning Vahai came with some kava and stood outside Halaevalukovi's house and spoke thus to her: "Why does this silly woman stay near the beach?" She did not answer and he had to speak again.

Then she answered, "Why do you want to know?"

Then entering with his kava he said, "Stand up and beat the kava for me to drink and I will dry your tears."

She answered: "Who said so?"

He replied, "I said so." Then Halaevalukovi sent some girls to go and get all the necessary things for the kava. When the things were brought Halaevalukovi made the kava and then told Vahai that it was ready. Vahai had a drink. He would not allow anyone else to drink as he wanted it all for himself. He had a second bowl and a third. Then he told Halaevalukovi to stand up and go outside and empty the kava out, for he had had the three chief kavas. Then he said good-bye and went away, telling Halaevalukovi to wait and see what happened.

When Vahai returned from Halaevalukovi he went straight to Haa Vakatolo, to the house of Ahomee, and called out and asked for the men. Ahomee told him they had gone to the Liku. Vahai told him to go and tell them to return. Vahai then went on to Foui while Ahomee went for the men. When Vahai arrived in Foui he got all his men together and told them to get ready, as they were to have war on all Tonga. When Ahomee got all his men together they went to Foui and the war started. [For account of the fighting, see 17, p. 140; 16, p. 90.]

After the burial of Tukuaho, Tupoutoa came to Tongatabu, from Haapai, while Ulukalala went to Vavau. When Tupoutoa arrived in Tonga he got all his brothers and sisters and they went to Hihifo and knelt before the sun and prayed for [their father's sister] Halaevalukovi. Then they went to see her and their mother Lepolo, for that was the first time they had gone to them since the death of their father Tukuaho. They knelt before the sun with their heads bowed till afternoon. Then Ulakai came and spoke to Halaevalukovi, "Why do you not speak to your people? They have been here all day and you have said nothing." So Halaevalukovi went and asked them to come in. Then she and the people of Hihifo prepared ovens of food (*feiumu*) to welcome her people. There were many pigs killed, the reason being that in Tonga a woman [father's sister] in the family is always the highest chief. After their welcome the brothers and sisters came to Nukualofa.

15. Maafuolimuloa. Maafuolimuloa, Tukuaho's successor as Tui Kanokupolu, was, according to the Tamaha Amelia, not in the line of succession for the office of Tui Kanokupolu. He was the great grandson of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and brother of the great chief Maafutukuiaulahi (personal name Tangatailavalu) of

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Tui Tonga tracts in the Vavau group are: Koloa Island; Vaipoa, Vavau Island; Tamamualoto, Vavau Island; Vakataumai, Kapa Island; Pulinitu, near Haalaufuli, Vavau Island; Hauofa, between Haakio and Lafoou, Vavau Island; Lavengahau, near Ngaakau, Vavau Island.

BOUNDARIES

In Tonga trees and ancient roads commonly served as boundary marks instead of stones, which are too readily moved. Land hunger is one of the failings of the Tongans and to-day, when a noble dies, his neighbors, if possible, encroach on his *tofia*, making haste to do so before his successor is appointed and trusting that the new owner will be ignorant of the true boundaries. Many present day nobles are averse to having their hereditary lands surveyed by the government surveyor because this would prevent further boundary shifting.

The *ngatae* (*Erythrina indica*) seems to have been the favorite tree for marking boundaries because it grows rapidly. Coconut, *koka* and *buko* trees formed more permanent boundaries, usually replacing the *ngatae* when it died. I heard that the word *ngatae* is a modern rendering of *ngatahe* which means boundary and anciently designated the tree as well. Thus when the Tui Kanokupolu allotted a piece of land to a follower, he said "Ngatahe," meaning that the follower should mark the boundary by planting *ngatahe* trees.

ABSENCE OF TRUE COMMUNAL LANDS

Anciently there seems to have been no lands that were, strictly speaking, communal. Perhaps the nearest approach to a communal tract was the *malae* or green in proximity to the house or houses of a chief, an enclosed lawn which was used as a place of ceremonial meetings, dances, and entertainments, such as boxing and wrestling. As now used, the term *malae* applies to a chief's burial place (the common use in eastern Polynesia) and to the lawn area adjacent to any house.

An example of modern communal tenancy was noted in Lifuka Island. Although the tract (*api*) Fiehua belongs to the Queen, in 1920 it was used as a communal field for the village of Pangai, each man in Pangai having a small section in which to plant sweet potatoes. When the potatoes were harvested, a number of basketsful were presented to the queen. However, the coconuts which grew in this field were not the property of the townspeople. Copra was made from the nuts by the queen's caretaker, a matapule named John Tuione, who usually received half of the proceeds, sometimes all.

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likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompanying feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the payment is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional proceeding.

The funeral feast is called *feipulua*, the breakfast served by the family of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral of a chief, *meafakaciki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled.

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau*, to be sung at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated, extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual, excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

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on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201).

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga, Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as-

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sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the remainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however. 768

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia*, according to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave within the house. 765 349

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially constructed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of *falefeao* as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem a more apt definition for *faletolia*, however. He says also that the *falefeao* may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on some special occasion. 342 763

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch was not removed but allowed to grow. 763

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug out afresh on the day of burial. 764

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called *takipo*. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the *takipo* is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tuitatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45). 764 416

Old, torn mats (*tauangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakangafingafi*. The generic term *taovala* applies to *tauangaa* and *fakangafingafi*. Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn. 765 602 292

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fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: (1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called *tufutalinafi*. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

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mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disemboweling. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death (See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems doubtful if the *moheofo,* or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cremation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive. His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the *fakafeao's* head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

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The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them up. This method is looked upon as infallible.

When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would ensue.

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a superstitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be accursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the administering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death. The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death.

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of themselves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have averted such a fate by confession.

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders.

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves."

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu

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though at the Fiji islands it is of much greater length, being wrapped round the body many times: one end of it passes between the legs, so as to represent, when adjusted, what in surgery is called a T bandage *.

Children are married by their parents (or rather betrothed to each other) when they are three or four years old. This circumstance gives rise to the complaint usually made by the natives of Tonga who visit Fiji, that they can find no woman but who is under the protection of a jealous husband. This Cow Mooala sadly complained of; and it leads us to the inference, that the women there are very faithful to their husbands. A man may have several wives; but the greatest chief, that is, she who is of the best family, is the principal wife; and in respect to her,—if her husband die first, she must be strangled on the day of his death, and afterwards buried with him. Mr. Mariner knows this fact from what happened at Vavaoo, a short time after the peace with Toe Oomoo; and as it was not mentioned at that time, the present is a fit oppor-

* At these islands they perform circumcision at fourteen years of age, after the Judaic method, i. e. by drawing forward the præputium, and cutting off a section. At the Tonga islands they only make a longitudinal incision of the upper part of the præputium.

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563 tunity to relate it. Among Finow's followers,
768 there was a certain chief, a native of Fiji, who about that period fell ill and died: his wife, who was also a native of Fiji, in accordance with the religious notions in which she had been brought up, considered it a breach of duty to outlive him; she therefore desired to be strangled. All her Tonga friends endeavoured to dissuade her from what appeared to them so unnecessary and useless an act; but no! she was determined, she said, to fulfil her duty, in defect of which she should never be happy in her mind,—the hotooas of Fiji would punish her; and thus, by living, she should only incur fresh miseries. Her friends, finding all remonstrances in vain, allowed her to do as she pleased: she accordingly laid herself down on the ground, by the side of her deceased husband, with her face upwards; and desiring a couple of Fiji men to perform their duty, they put a band of *gnatoo* round her neck, and pulling at each end, soon ended her existence *. In the evening they were buried together in the same grave, in a sitting posture, according
[727] to the Fiji custom. Mr. Mariner happened not to be present when she was strangled, but

[178] * It used to be the custom at Tonga, when the divine
[166] chief, Tooitonga, died, to strangle his chief wife; but this absurd practice was left off during Mr. Mariner's time.

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arrived in time to see them buried, and to hear the account of the recent event from those who had been eye-witnesses.

Both sexes at the Fiji islands adopt the custom of making an incision in the lobe of each ear, and introducing a piece, about an inch long, of the mid-rib of the plantain leaf, to keep it distended: when healed, they introduce a thicker piece, and afterwards a still larger piece of the wood of the tree itself, so as to cause the lobe of the ear to spread and hang down considerably. This practice, as it is considered ornamental, the women carry to a much greater extent than the men; and at length introduce such large pieces, that the lobe of the ear hangs down almost as low as the shoulder, the opening thus made being about ten inches in circumference. Frequently, by overstretching the lobe, it splits; and there are many women seen with it hanging down in two slips!! Their skins are by no means so smooth and sleek as those of the Tonga people, owing, probably, to the circumstance of their not oiling themselves.

The gods are consulted in much the same way as at Tonga: there are, indeed, some few trifling differences in the ceremony, but these Mr. Mariner is not sufficiently acquainted with to state accurately: although he was after-

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repaired as quickly as possible to its own fortress, lest it should be taken possession of by some enemy. During the siege, all the women made themselves remarkable by their resolute assistance in the defence of the place; lest, for want of men, it should be taken by the enemy. The widows of Teoo Cava*, however, were so afflicted at his loss, that many of them, it is said, strangled themselves†.

At this time, Toobo Malohi sent word to his

* Speaking of Teoo Cava calls to mind a circumstance, mentioned in the second missionary voyage, respecting Eliza Mosey and a black woman, both belonging to the American ship Duke of Portland, Captain Lovat Melon; the date is not mentioned. Through the treachery of Teoo Cava, (who from mistake of pronunciation they call Ducava,) the crew were all murdered, excepting three or four persons, among whom were Eliza Mosey, and the black woman. The latter was still at the Hapai islands when Mr. Mariner left; she latterly became insane, but lived as a sort of domestic, (being harmless,) with a certain female chief, who treated her kindly. Eliza Mosey became one of the wives of Teoo Cava, who was much envied by the other chiefs on that account, she being a white woman. She made her escape afterwards, in the Union of New York, and arrived at Port Jackson, where she remained. Mr. Mariner has since accidentally heard from a woman who had been at Port Jackson, that Eliza Mosey returned afterwards to Tonga, with a ship that went for the purpose of laying in a cargo of pork, but which was shortly afterwards wrecked among the Fiji islands.

† Mr. Mariner is not quite certain whether this report be correct: for it is an undoubted fact, that suicide is exceedingly rare among them.

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that obscures the understanding of the Tonga people is surely that which prevents them seeing the unnatural cruelty and absurdity of this practice: we have, however, the most sanguine hopes that "Moloch—horrid king," will not much longer hold his reign in these islands. It is not, we verily believe, from a want of natural feeling, but from an excessive veneration and fear of the gods, created in an æra of great superstition, and now upheld by old practice, that the natives perform these horrible rites. All the by-standers behold the innocent victim with feelings of the greatest pity; but it is proper, they think, to sacrifice a child, who is at present of no use to society, and perhaps may not otherwise live to be, with the hope of recovering a sick chief, whom all esteem, and whom all think it a most important duty to respect, defend, and preserve, that his life may be of advantage to the country. The form of this ceremony is related (Vol. I. p. 217.): other instances on the occasions of Finow's last illness, and that of Tooitonga.

The ceremony of Nawgia, (or strangling), used to be performed upon the chief widow of Tooitonga, on the day of her husband's burial, that she might be interred with him. Two Tooitongas were buried during Mr. Mariner's time; one on his first arrival, and the other,

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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(i. e. the last), a few months before he came away. The first of these two, however, had no chief wife, i. e. he had no wife at all, or else none that was of so high a rank as to take the charge of his household, and be the mistress over the others; consequently at his death no such ceremony was performed. The last Tooitonga's wife (the daughter of the late king, and sister of the present) was not subjected to this inhuman rite—thanks to the good sense of the late and present king. When old Finow was living, he used to say, that if Tooitonga died before his wife, she should not be strangled: "What," said he, "is the use of destroying a "young and beautiful woman? Who is there "dares say that the gods are merciless and "cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled!" Tooitonga did not die till the present king came into power, and we have already seen that he not only did not allow his sister to be strangled, but he also did not permit another Tooitonga to succeed. In consequence, it was whispered about, that some great misfortune would happen to the country. At the Fiji islands, the principal wife of every chief, or at least of every considerable chief, undergoes this ceremony on the death of her husband. (See Vol. I. p. 330.)

TOOTOO-NIMA, or cutting off a portion of the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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766 connection between these different meanings.
192 When Tooitonga is ill, the intercessions with the gods for his recovery are the same, though
766 perhaps in a greater degree, as are made on
763 the illness of other high chiefs: prayers are offered up; priests become inspired; some children have their little fingers sacrificed; others
766 are strangled, &c. When he is dead, his body
764 is washed with oil and water, as usual; his widows come to mourn over him, &c.; and, ac-
[768] cording to the former custom, his chief widow should be strangled, but whether on the day of his death or of his burial Mr. Mariner does not know. His *fytoca*, or burial-place, is of the
[302] same form as that of other chiefs. The day after his death, (which is the day of his burial) every individual at every island, man, woman, and child, has his head closely shaved: this is a peculiarity, and so is the custom of depositing some of his most valuable property along with the body in the grave, such as beads, whales' teeth, fine Hamoa mats, &c.; so that his family burying-place, at the island of Tonga, where all his ancestors have been buried, must have become very rich; for no native would dare to commit the sacrilege of theft. The ceremony of interment is exactly
766 the same as that of the king. The mourning
765 is also the same, viz. old ragged mats, with

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 761 287 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 764 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 768 183 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarilly evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 764 521 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 764 763 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 765 276 574 431 **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his Father Moomooe with it, who was the reigning chief, when we landed.

Duatonga was particularly delighted with the cuckoo-clock, and wished to have one. As we had several, we were glad of this opportunity of gratifying the second chief in the Island, with so acceptable a present. He took it home. Curiosity prompted him to examine the inside. He succeeded in taking it to pieces; but had not skill to put it together again. We were sent for to mend it; we made the attempt; but unacquainted with the mechanism of the clock, we were equally unsuccessful. This excited great laughter among them, and brought down upon us much ridicule. They were naturally very conceited, and this circumstance much encouraged their vanity; and now they prided themselves in the idea, that they were as skilful and cleaver[1] as we.

Soon after this, Moomooe, the reigning chief, died. His disorder and danger excited great concern through the Island, and one of his own sons was slain, through a delusive hope that his health and strength would be communicated to his dying Father.

But it is beyond the power of description, to paint the dreadful scene of horror and bloodshed, which took place at his funeral, and continued to be acted round his tomb, for weeks after. Two of his wives

1 [Errata: this should read "clever." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatooka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The space round the tomb was on this occasion a palæstra for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was over, fought with each other, and cut themselves with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars, their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks, and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and rendered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Mumui was now very infirm, and not likely to survive many months. The executive power had therefore passed into the hands of his son Tukuaho, who lived at Hihifo, but virtually governed the whole island. The power of the spiritual chiefs had so far declined since Cook's visit that the missionaries describe the Tui Tonga as coming below the Tui Kanokubolu in power and influence. On the 29th May 1797 Mumui died, in spite of the sacrifice of one of his relations at the shrine of the gods. Two of his widows, after the custom of Fiji, now fast becoming the fashion, were strangled at his grave, and the usual scenes of barbarous grief ensued.[1] At the close of the funeral ceremonies Tukuaho was formally elected Tui Kanokubolu, and inducted with the ceremony of kava-drinking. He is thus described by a contemporary: "He is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age, is of a sullen, morose countenance, speaks very little, but when angry bellows forth with a voice like a roaring lion." Possessed at last of the supreme power in name as well as in substance, he gave rein to his instincts —the instincts of a beast of prey. Many stories are told of his cruelties: how for a mere whim, worthy of a Commodus, he ordered the right arms of twelve of his servants to be amputated; how, as a punishment for a woman who had offended him, he had her sawn asunder lengthwise while still alive.[2] But these were not the true causes of Finau's hatred against him, though they served as an excuse for his ambition and insatiable restlessness. Against a more popular ruler he would not have dared to rebel; but the savage and wanton cruelties of

[1] 'Missionary Voyage of the Duff.' [2] Mariner's 'Tonga.'

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

probably puzzle most natives to draw the exact line at which the class of the soul-bearers ends and that of the soulless begins. Chiefs were buried in cemeteries (to which amongst other names that of *malae* is applied), whilst the lower orders were interred in some convenient place close to the dwelling. A man living alone would perhaps be buried inside his house and the house then deserted or even burned down. The members of a more numerous household would be buried round about the house, and when say half a dozen had been thus disposed of the survivors would seek a fresh site for their habitation. Christianity has endowed the common folk with souls, and promoted their mortal remains to the dignity of as careful interment in cemeteries as that enjoyed by their "betters." In speaking of a very high dead chief it is not uncommon to refer to him as "the chief in such a burial ground, or malae." The highest chiefs are often said to be "away," or "at a distance," when their death is spoken of.

After the death of the late King George II, in 1918, the body lay in state for several days (not an ancient custom), and every night during the lying in state multitudes of lanterns were burnt about the palace, and little fires completely surrounded the compound. These were tended in silence during the night, and might not be extinguished until the first had been put out by one of the very few persons—one at least of whom was a woman—of sufficiently high rank to give this signal. In this, as in other matters, foreigners are exempted from the tabus which bind the natives. One morning when a native able to extinguish the first flame was not at hand the services of an Indian cook were requisitioned, or were just about to be when a native appeared who was entitled to perform this ceremony. In the case of the kings the tasks connected with their burial are largely in the hands of the craftsman class or hereditary guild (*haa tufunga*). The tombs of the old Tongan kings stand in inviolate sanctity in places almost untrodden by human foot, and the gloom of forest and thicket enshrouds these abodes of supernatural dread. In modern times the Christian care of the resting places of the dead has overcome the old avoidance of burial-places. The present kings of Tonga, moreover, are buried in the town of Nukualofa, the capital, and the necessity of keeping such a site clear is modifying the old tabus.

592 596 composition that are common in Tonga, and it therefore serves well for purposes of illustration.

The oldest person in the household was Finau, the mother of the head male of the household, Viliami (see Figure 2). Finau's father was a Motulahi man, her mother from another village on Tongatapu, and Finau was born in [591] Motulahi. She married a man from another island and went to live there with him; her sons, Sione and Viliami, [768] were born there. Her husband died in 1917, whereupon she moved back to Motulahi with her two sons and joined her widowed father's household. She never remarried and, after her father died, she became sole head of that house- [591] hold. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife into what was then Finau's household. His wife, 'Ana, [484] [573] was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu in 1930, when she was twelve, so that her older brother could attend secondary school. They settled at Motulahi, where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana had seven children, ranging in age from thirty-one to sixteen, all of whom were living in Motulahi in February 1970. Only one of their children, Tomasi, was not a member of the household at that time. [591] Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

592 moved out of the household. At this stage adults feel the need for
597 companionship, and may also need assistance in performing household chores and subsistence tasks.

597 The reasons why parents allow their children to be adopted are both the negative factors of hardship and a willingness to assist childless
(848) couples. Illegitimate children are frequently adopted by someone in the mother's family, not because of any great stigma but to give the child a socially acceptable position and to free the mother to find a
(837) husband. Children thought to have been conceived in adulterous relationships are often unwanted by the mother's husband, and he might in-
(586) sist that the child be adopted out. Men who lose their wives through
(768) death or divorce and are left with small children will usually allow them to be adopted or even actively seek an adopter. Parents experiencing economic hardship, severe illness, or marital instability may
(602) actively encourage the adoption of their children. It is believed that families with several children should be willing to give one to a childless kinsman and in some cases this seems to be the only motivation.

Gratitude for services rendered will sometimes result in adoptions. A women who cures a sick child may be given the child as a gesture of parental appreciation. Another example is provided by a man I shall call Finau who was visiting an outer island. During his stay there Finau had an argument with the kinsman he was visiting and was asked to leave. A non-kinsman befriended him and looked after Finau until passage could be arranged back to Tongatapu, the main island. Out of gratitude Finau asked his benefactor what he could do in return. The

597 a year later Sione's wife had another child, and Samisoni renewed his request which again was denied by Sione's wife. Samisoni had no other close kinsman with young children so he gave up trying to adopt from his own kinsmen and allowed his wife to arrange the adoption of one of her sister's children.

Most adoption transactions are initiated by the prospective adopter, but as suggested previously, in some circumstances the biological parents will actively seek an adopter. One case of this involved a man [768] whose wife had died leaving him with several young children. The man found another woman willing to marry him but she did not want his children; therefore, he made arrangements for his brother to adopt the children. In general, it is far easier to find someone willing to adopt children than it is to find parents willing to give them up.

Adoption and Kinship Reciprocity

597 602

With the large majority of adoption transactions occurring between close kinsmen, it is evident that adoption is closely related to the sentiment of kinship. Table 10 illustrates the relationships between adopters and adoptees. In Chapter VI the pattern of kinship reciprocity reflected in the sample of adoption transactions will be presented and compared with the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Here I do want to point out that 69 percent of adoptees were obtained from the adopting mother's kinsmen rather than from the adopting father's kinsmen. This pattern probably reflects the greater interest of women in the adoption process and in its outcome. Women enter into adoption

[See p. 68--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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127 disintegrating by the 20th Century. Another kind of typescript manuscript is obviously of 20th Century origin: the author types his own manuscript account. An instance of this type of 20th Century typescript is Collocott's King Taufa (475-page typescript).

Reading 20th Century typescript copies of 19th Century holographic missionary accounts is easier for the researcher. However, the person who made the typewritten account from the holographic original introduces another variable into the research: did the typist accurately transcribe what was in the original? If both the holographic and typescript copy are not available, the researcher cannot check on possible typing errors or misinterpretations in the typescript account. Such is the case with the Lawry typescript diary: the original is not available and there are some questionable typed words in the typescript copy for which I knew no referent.

A similar problem appears in the Stephenson typescript diary, but fortunately, the original was available for cross-checking. Below is an example of the typescript account and my interpretation of the holographic original:

127
•768

Holographic	Typescript
Vuna--wishing to do all state honor to him they have dispatched Tukuofo and taken Gatu Gafi Gafi &c & present to the dead--an old heathen practise....	Fiaua--wishing to do state honor to him they have dispatched - S Tu Ruofo and taken Gatu -afi - Afi &c to the dead--an old heathern practise....

If the researcher only had the typescript account for this entry of January 15 and 16, 1862, for Stephenson's diary, "S Tu Ruofo" could be somewhat difficult to interpret, for this stood for the holographic word

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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127 tukuofo, not a presentation to the deceased but the redistribution of
768 material goods among the relatives of the deceased. In this account, it was the "Gatu" or ngatu, Tongan cloth, and ngafingafi, or finely woven mats.

127 For the same date, the Tongan personal name of "Tevita Niukabu" appears in the holographic account; the typescript account records this name as "Tonto Sinkalu." The fact is granted that handwritten accounts can be diffucult to read, but the researcher accustoms himself to orthographic variations as much as possible. If the researcher has sufficient ethnographic knowledge, and the context of the description is self-evident, one can perhaps interpret the typescript funerary term "S Tu Ruofo" to mean tukuofo. But how does one identify "Tonto Sinkalu?"

127 Additional miscellaneous manuscript accounts were read. These
797 included such items as the Wesleyan Minute Book of Tonga (1827-1849), which listed the minutes of various meetings held in the archipelago by the missionaries. Virtually no ethnographic description was contained in them. Various business letters of the missionaries, also read, contained a small amount of ethnographic descriptions. These letters were, for the most part, status reports on the Mission, supply requests, and reports on the morale and behavior of the missionaries.

127 Not only are there certain limitations inherent in the manuscripts themselves, but there are also decided limitations in the quantity and quality of ethnographic information in the accounts. There is a definite limit to the number of manuscript materials for any one

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

Gradually the excitement and the material gain of these expeditions, as well as the prestige and honour given to them, particularly by the younger generations of Tonga, made these exploits an integral part of the upbringing of young chiefs. Hence the rapid increase in the volume of traffic between Tonga and Fiji during the eighteenth century.

This intercourse had far-reaching effects on political affairs in Tonga. On their return home the young warriors did not hesitate to show off the new habits they had acquired in Fiji. Cannibalism and strangling of widows were introduced and became more and more common; 'Warriors who had blooded their clubs in Fiji fretted at the inglorious routine of peace. Intrigue, treachery, murder, and rebellion resulted' (Derrick 1963:122-3). When Captain Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 he reported that, although he saw arms, the people went about unarmed and appeared peaceful. On his third voyage, in 1777, he named Lifuka, the main island of the Ha'apai group, Friendly Island. He was entirely unaware that on the very same occasion there was a plot to assassinate him and his crew, and that they were only saved by a disagreement among their chiefly hosts as to whether to carry out the plot by day or by night (Martin 1827, II:71-2).

At the turn of the seventeenth century unrest began to appear, particularly in Vava'u. Vuna, a brother of the then Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele Ha'amea, went to Vava'u in order to quell the unrest and to restore allegiance to his brother. He was accompanied by one of his nephews, Tuituiohu, son of Mataele Ha'amea, who went as Vuna's *le'o kava* (guardian of *kava* protocol), and by some of the lesser chiefs of the *ha'a* Havea. However, after staying in Vava'u for a while, Vuna abandoned his original intentions and decided to extend his own powers, pronouncing himself Tu'i Vava'u (ruler of Vava'u) and establishing his own court at Pangaimotu, an island off Vava'u (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote).

Meanwhile, the struggle for power continued on Tongatapu. One of Mataele Ha'amea's sons, Ma'afu'otuitonga, succeeded to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had three sons, Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki and Mumui, all of whom succeeded to the position. However, when Maealiuaki's son, Mulikiha'amea, decided to

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

white men's ships. The Tongans did not show the least interest in Christian teaching and, under the circumstances, this was hardly surprising.

It is easy now to find grave errors in this venture. To teach the Tahitians and Tongans trades and to endeavour to set up a model society along English lines was idealistic but impracticable. The uneven quality of the members of the mission party was a serious handicap. They had been selected mainly for their knowledge of trades, and some of these trades were inapplicable to the islands (for example, bricklayer, butcher, draper, hatter). Some of the men were not sufficiently grounded in their faith and were liable to succumb to the temptations of a strange and enervating environment. Only six of the thirty missionaries on the *Duff* were married; twenty-two were under thirty years of age. Dr. Haweis had actually favoured using single men, with the hope, he said, that they might marry converts from the families of high chiefs in the interests of further conversions.(1) Of the thirty, twenty proved unfaithful or unequal to the work.(2) Five of the original party in Tahiti remained faithful and were rewarded with eventual success. It was this minority who finally justified the Society's enterprise in Tahiti. The record of most of the L.M.S. survivors in Tongatapu indicates that they also were loyal to their commission.

The *Duff* reached Tahiti, after its long voyage, on 5 March 1797, a Sunday; and on that day the Gospel was first preached in the South Seas by Evangelicals. Those who had come to work in Tahiti had brought a rough vocabulary compiled by one of the crew of the *Pandora* which had called there six years before. On the other hand, there was nothing whatever prepared for the ten men who elected to go to Tongatapu; they had to depend for interpreters upon several castaway whites who generally were hostile. If civil war had not occurred the missionaries might have learnt the Tongan language in the same way as their nondescript interpreters had done. Without knowing the language, without any reliable authority to support them, living among a thieving population and a few whites who became treacherous opponents, and with their own indifferent intellectual equipment, the L.M.S. had insuperable obstacles from the outset.

Before leaving Tahiti the ten missionaries designated for Tongatapu chose Seth Kelso as their leader. On 19 March Kelso was ordained by the four ministers in the party who themselves had been ordained before leaving England.

On 10 April 1797 the *Duff* anchored off the small island of Pangaimotu, Tongatapu. Two days later the men landed and met chiefs including Mumui, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who expressed his desire to be taught how to make the kind of furniture he had seen on the ship. The missionaries decided to fix their residence in Hihifo, the western district, under the patronage of Tuku'aho, the son of Mumui. On 17 April the first sermon in Tonga was preached by John Buchanan; and the party observed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on 7 May.

Very soon after their arrival the missionaries witnessed the "paroxysms of grief" which marked the funeral of Mumui who died on 27 April. Two of the king's wives and a grandson had been strangled before his death. The funeral ceremonies were attended by about 4,000 people. Hundreds of men used clubs and spears to injure themselves. The missionaries were sickened by the daily scenes of self-inflicted blood-shedding.

Before the *Duff* left Tongatapu a runaway sailor more friendly than the others on the island informed Captain Wilson of a plot to capture the ship. Eight large double-canoes and hundreds of men surrounded the ship; they had to be